14: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

243 417 Let us come now to the regular fence, the *abút*, and see how it is made.

To build (*maxabút*) an ordinary fence you need a large amount of canes of bamboo grass (*bassâw*) for the uprights, which form the bulk of the fence, and a few more for the transverse pieces (*pakân*), a certain amount of sturdy sticks for props or supporters (*túkid*), a good quantity of vines or other materials for tying purposes, a large wooden hammer (*bakêta*) for driving in the supporters, and, last but not least, a hatchet or *âliwá*.

Those are the usual materials and implements used in making an *abút*. Sometimes wooden sticks are used instead of canes, with strips of bamboo (occasionally) for the transverse pieces. Sometimes bamboo tops with their branches intact are simply stuck in the ground for a fence, called *sarañsáñ*. Sometimes a fence is built by means of entire bamboo stems or bamboo stems cut lengthwise into two or more parts, and kept in place horizontally one above the other between an occasional combination of two upright wooden sticks, to which they are tied in such a way as to leave only a narrow space between each of the component parts (as is customary with fences built around the house yard and described in another paper [21]). But all this is rather extraordinary and may be dismissed without further explanations.

With reference to the supporters (*túkid*), any kind of wood may be used, provided it be hard and durable. The stems of the *baggút*, however, which is only a small tree, are very appropriate to the purpose.

Any kind of tough vines, strips of rattan, etc., may be used for tying. Among others, strips cut from the white bark (*labdó*) of the *bo-nóñ*-tree are very much esteemed.

The *bakêta* consists in a heavy block of wood, into which has been inserted a comparatively long straight handle. It is a very handy implement for driving in the *túkid* or supporters.

This is the way to proceed in order to make a good *abút* (fence). After having gathered some bundles of canes of bamboo grass, whether or not sufficient for the whole fence, and a certain amount of vines or strips for tying, bring them to the place where the fence has to be built. Once there, stick the canes in the ground, upright and close together. If necessary, sharpen them at the lower end; if the ground is very hard, it is preferable first to dig a little groove, which afterwards is filled up by pressing the earth with the feet on both sides of the fence. Go on like that until there is a row at least as long as one

[21] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 3, no. 1, p. 62.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

of the tallest canes. Then tie one or two canes horizontally on either side, a little higher than the center of the uprights, or even nearer to the top; these canes form the *pakán*. When this is done, go back home and keep the next day as a holiday (*ńilin*). This first day's work is called *mańgapó*.

All during the next day, the holiday, it is absolutely forbidden to approach the place where the fence is. Should anybody dare infringe this taboo, he is said to *mananút* (destroy the value of ?) the fence, and he will suffer the wrath of the owner, if nothing worse befalls him. This same term *mananút* is also used for people who approach a rice field where the first weeding (*bállât*) has been done, as will be seen in due time.

On the third day, continue the work and go on until it is completed, without fear of any bad effects on account of somebody coming to talk to you or to lend a helping hand.

When the whole fence has been built according to this plan, or at least when a considerable section has been completed, plant the *túkid* or wooden supporters, which have been gathered either before or in the meanwhile. The first thing to be done is to sharpen them at one end (*magsíxād, sixádān*), after which they are driven forcibly into the ground (*magtalná-*). A few subsequent strokes with the *bakéta* will keep them strongly in position. These *túkid* are placed near the fence of canes, at regular intervals, mostly only on one side, sometimes on both, and they are tied strongly to the parts of the fence nearest to them, usually at the intersections of uprights and transverse canes or *pakán*.

If, in the course of time, some part of the fence is destroyed by wild boars, the only thing to be done is simply to repair it (*magrassó*).

The Isneg also make great use of the *túxa*, short sharp sections of a cane of bamboo grass, stuck in the ground in a slanting position; these weapons of defense are very dangerous to anybody, whether man or animal, who trespasses on the ground wherein they are to be found. If they are stuck in the soil immediately behind the fence, inside the field, they are called *palăyáw*, and woe to the wild boar that jumps through a fence and lands on them. The *palăyáw* are used with the best effect in places where the Isneg knows, through former experience, that the wild boar is wont to make himself a passage into the field or garden.

The space all around the fence, at the outside, is called *alasiyáń*; it is generally cleaned (*maxalasiyáń*) to the breadth of about one

44: Vanoverbergh F-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Tobacco leaves are always brought home by the women in huge baskets (*rańdya*), and piled up in some convenient place on the floor of the house, where very soon they will be submitted to further manipulations. When men carry tobacco leaves from one place to another, they make use of a *balitáń*, lest they spoil them. The *balitáń* is a device more or less in the shape of a hammock and consists of five sticks and a number of strips of bamboo: two St. Andrew's crosses (four sticks) are tied at the center to either end of a stick (the fifth one), and the strips of bamboo, running in the direction of the central stick, are tied at either end to the upper half of both crosses, covering the latter from one tip to the other. The *balitáń* may be carried on the shoulders or set down on the ground (only the tips of the two lower halves of both crosses touching the ground) without danger of crushing any of the leaves.

While the women are busy bringing in the leaves, the men prepare strips of rattan, which they cut to a point at one end and provide with a knot at the other, and gather a few poles of light bamboo or bolo (*manaxiagdĕrăyăn*: to gather bamboo poles for this purpose). Then both men and women cut off (*maxánit*) lengthwise a section of the lower part of the petiole of each tobacco leaf, by means of an *aliwá* (hatchet) or an *ikó*-knife. Hands of tobacco are prepared by spitting (*magkásip* or *magtabbá-*) the leaves, at the reduced end of the petiole, upon a pointed strip of rattan, pushing them all the time toward the knot at the other end of the latter.

Tobacco leaves are hung up to dry either in the house, under the roof, or else outside if the weather permits.

The hands of tobacco are hung (*magdĕrăy*) by the center on bamboo poles (*agdĕrăyăn*), that rest at one end on one of the shorter tiebeams (the *sakkár*) of the house, and at the other on a pole that crosses the house and rests at either end on one of the longer tiebeams of the house. The hands are always kept at a reasonable distance from one another, so as to allow them to dry easily. They must be left like that (*dinĕrăy*) until they are completely dry (*maxáńo*), because tobacco leaves that are not entirely dry (*asál*), get spoiled if they are piled up into bulks. The poles with the hands (*dinĕrăy*) attached to them are easily transferred from one place to another if necessary.

After the leaves have been thoroughly dried, and they happen to be too brittle to be piled up immediately, it is advisable to hang them outside for a while in the evening (*ilpáat*) so that they become soft.

The hands that are ready to be placed in bulks, are first taken off

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended out-
335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
[352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised platform running around the four sides of the room. This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles, leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very small windows on each side of the house and one small door on one side toward an end. The wooden cover-
[417] ings of these openings, close flush with the walls. En-
[355] trance to the door from the ground is gained by a
[231] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

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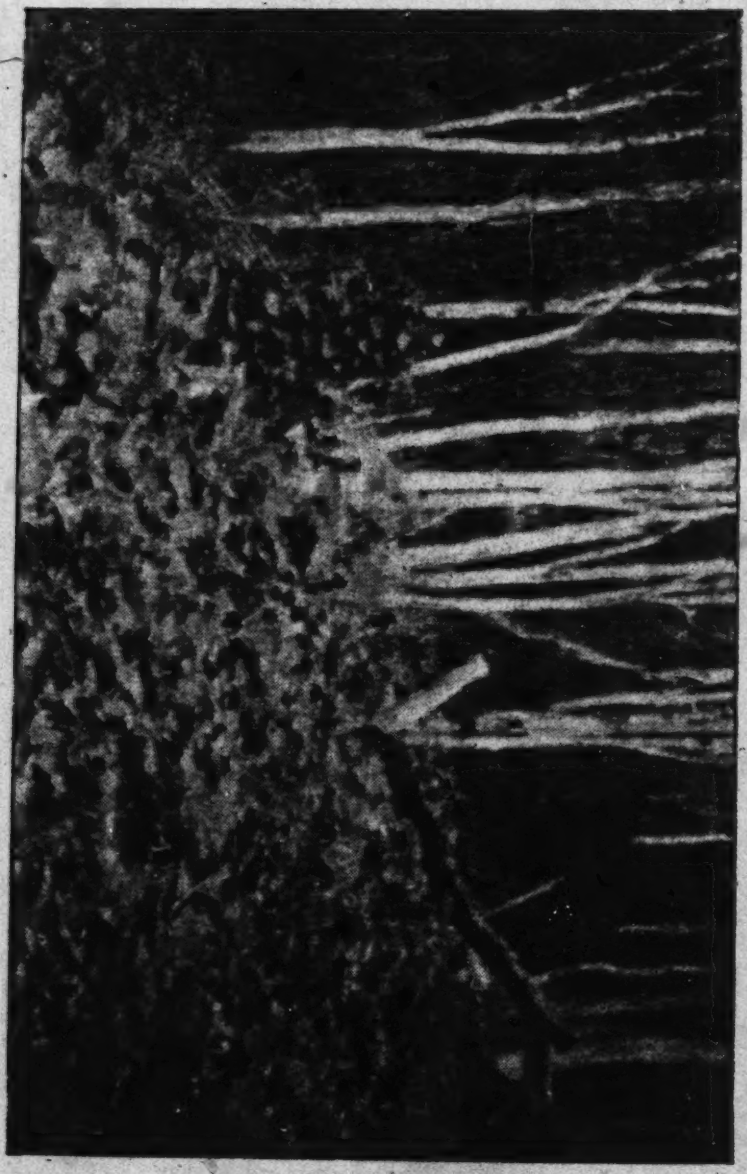

Sweet potatoes grow luxuriantly in the loose ashen earth. The fence is to keep the wild pigs out of this kaiñgin.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 476 342 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small 628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-* 648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a 676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. 672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally 721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and 554 deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

342 335 192 824 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At 341 342 335 [824] one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of [513] [562] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the 342 house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". [417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

[113] [104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.